

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period] Terena

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember,

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
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ing their children in their arms. The only light is a lantern or two in the house. The young men stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight. 535
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FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha. 526
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Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

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Terena

178 cont. /

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldeia, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

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[Bananal and Ipegue]

Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[194] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terena
621 aldeia and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terena, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terena dwellings.

/105 cont. /

797, - But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies,
at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In
the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain in-
compatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school)
and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the
Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to
proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This
discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to
two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling
against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-
Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism,
spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the
greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater
aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they
use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and
speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organi-
zation that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group
life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out
through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the
performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to
imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superin-
tendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldeia routine, the
"Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the
community, not so much because they are the most demanding,
but chiefly because of their greater organization, which per-
mits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical
missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail
to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words,
the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protes-
tant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of
reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

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771 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
in his work on Bananal, refers

/129 cont. /

* 177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
319 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terena male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more
developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[404] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there
than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads),
or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in
colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his
friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he
did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he
purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the
aldeia makes the community receptive to urban things and be-
gins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually
becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terena from his aldeia once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldeia population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terena emigrates
only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the
superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not
find the conditions necessary for his development. We have
an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the
Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian,
Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively
for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an
aldeia in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre,
because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture
land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he
no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
[554] for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldeia, and
for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed
on his plantations his own compatriots-- , his recent move

/130 cont. /

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
 167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
 578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
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199. As we already mentioned
 in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to
 his past, had acquired a great
 sense of competition and highly
 organized working habits.
 Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha
 had nothing more to offer him,
 not only because he had no
 technical assistance, but also
 because he had heard that
 São Paulo offered the best
 possible opportunities to those
 with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a
 rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try
 life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal
 could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging
 to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the
 reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slash-
 ing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the
 native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the
 farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Con-
 trary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went
 on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city,
 but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

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[447]

200. He bought a modest
 store (bolicho) and almost
 lost all his money there.
 The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont. /

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The last time we saw him
in Campo Grande, he had
bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldeia because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the

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181[798]
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201. As a source of such
friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeias, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeias are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

[184]

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts, 836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does not take place. When the marriage is to be consummated, the 585 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from 833 her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes 825 a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it 824 in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man 178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later 126 Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could 114 not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For